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PAÑCHĀLAS AND THEIR CAPITAL AHICHCHHATRA

BY

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PREFACE

In this monograph an attempt has been made to trace the history of Pañchāla and its capital Ahichchhatra through ancient Indian literature supplemented by the evidence of the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims and relevant numismatic data. As regards the archæological remains at Ahichchhatra I should like to draw the readers' attention to Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India Reports, Vol. I, pp. 255 foll. For the convenience of the readers, a map of Pañchāla has been given at the end.

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Map of Pañchāla

PAÑCHĀLAS AND THEIR CAPITAL AHICHCHHATRA

1 The Pañchālas and their kingdom

Pañchāla, like many other countries of ancient India, may be supposed to have derived its name from the people who occupied and established their supremacy over it. Accordingly the suggestion has been mooted that it came to be known as Pañchāla only when it became the home of no fewer than five Vedic tribes, the Krivis, the Turvaśas, the Keśins, the Sṛiñjayas and the Somakas, who eventually merged into one nationality with the Krivis as the original predominant element in their unity.[1] The incidental mention of the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asiknī (Chenab) along with the Krivis in a separate verse of a hymn in the Ṛig-Veda[2] is not sufficient to establish the connection of the Krivis with any region between those two rivers.[3] But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa definitely says that the Pañchālas were in ancient times called Krivis,[4] which may be taken to suggest that the Krivis could not but be a very important factor among the people of Pañchāla.

The Paurānic tradition, however, does not lend support to the above theory. The Purāṇas ingeniously suggest a derivation of the name, according to which, the kingdom came to be called Pañchāla from the fact that for its king five able (*samartha*) sons were deemed enough to guard or protect the five provinces (*pañcha alaṁ*).[5] As Pargiter puts it, "It obviously began popularly as a jocose nickname, applied to his five sons, the 'Five Capables', and naturally would have required time to come into ordinary use."[6] The names of the five princes vary, though not materially, in different Purāṇas, one, the *Bhāgavata* (IX, Ch. 21), giving them as Mudgala, Yavīnara, Brihadviśa, Kāmpilya and Sañjaya; another, the *Vishṇu* (Ch. XIX, Aṅka 4), introducing them as Mudgala, Sṛiñjaya, Bṛihadishu, Pravīra and Kāmpīlya: the third, the *Vāyu* (Ch. 99), as Mudgala, Sṛiñjaya, Bṛihadishu, Yavīyāna and Kāmpīlya: and the fourth, the *Agni* (Ch. 278), as Mukula, Sṛiñjaya, Bṛihadishu, Yavīnara and Krimila. One at least among these names, *viz.*, Sañjaya or Sṛiñjaya, is apt to remind us of the Vedic tribe of that name. The Purāṇas seem to suggest that the five princes were the founders of five cities in five provinces, each city having been named after its founder. The Purāṇas also differ from one another as to the name and particulars of the king who was the father of those five princes. The *Bhāgavata*

[1] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 469; B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 51-52; Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 59.

[2] Law, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48; Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Cf. Zimmer's view (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 103) upheld in the *Vedic Index*, I, p. 198.

[3] *Ṛig-Veda*, VIII, 20, 24; VIII, 22, 12.

[4] *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 5, 4, 7.

[5] *Vishṇu P.*, Ch. 19, Aṅka 4, *Vāyu.*, Ch. 99.

[6] *JRAS*, 1918, p. 238.

Purāṇa calls him Bharmāśva, born in the family of Dushmanta : the *Vishṇu* introduces him as Haryaśva, born in the fa[illegible]uru ; the *Vāyu*, as Ṛiksha, born in the family of Dvimīḍha : and the [illegible]*g*.[illegible]hyāśva, born in the family of Kuru.[1]

As for the antiquity of the name Pañchāla, it is not met with in any of the extant Ṛig-vedic hymns. It is quite likely that in the Ṛig-Vedic period there was no separate kingdom known by the name of Pañchāla.[2] The Pañchālas themselves as a people then passed as Krivis. The name of Pañchāla as a distinct kingdom became well known when the Brāhmaṇas of different Vedas were compiled. The name of Pañchāla often forming a dual group with Kuru comes before us prominently not only in the Pāli Nikāya list of sixteen Mahājanapadas,[3] not only in some of the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads, Āraṇyakas and Brāhmaṇas but even in some of the recensions of the Yajur-Veda, the same name in its plural form standing both for the land and the people who inhabited it. The Kāṇva recension of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (XI, 3, 3) mentions the Kuru-Pañchālas. The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (XXX. 2) speaks of the Pañchālas as the people of Keśin Dālbhya. The same Vedic text (X. 6) alludes to the performance of the Naimishīya sacrifice in the land of the Kuru-Pañchālas. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14) mentions the Pañchālas along with the Purus, as one of the peoples in the Mid-land (*Madhyamā dik*). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5. 4, 7) refers in several of its passages to the land, kings and people of Kuru-Pañchāla. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I, 8. 4. 1. 2) speaks of the periodical military expeditions undertaken by the kings of Kuru-Pañchāla. The *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* introduces the Kuru-Pañchālas in several co-texts. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 2. 9) mentions the Kuru-Pañchālas in an interesting list of similar other groups, the Aṅga-Magadhas, the Kāśī-Kośalas, the Śālva-Matsyas, etc. anticipating the Pāli list of sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Upanishad references to the Kuru-Pañchālas need not be cited, coming as they do after the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. The mention in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 4. 7) of an ancient king of Pañchāla, known by the name of Kraivya Pañchāla is, however, important as indicating the historical connection of the Krivis with the Pañchālas. It is not only the name of Pañchāla that goes back to the period covered by the *Yajur-Veda* and the Brāhmaṇas, but that of its capital, Kāmpīlya, as well. The *Yajur-Veda-Saṁhitās* (*Vedic Index*, I. 149) apply the epithet Kāmpīla-vāsinī to a woman who was perhaps the king's chief queen, the Kāmpila of the epithet obviously standing for the town of that name, the Kāmpīlya of later literature.

Whether we assume that the Pañchālas had originally formed a confederacy of five tribes or put faith in the Paurānic legend stating that the first king of the

[1] Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53. See Pargiter on "The North Pañchāla Dynasty" in *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 229-248; also on "*Kuru-Pañchāla*" in *Ibid*, 1920, pp. 99-102.

[2] See Pargiter on this point, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 238. According to him, a long line of kings, beginning with Ajamiḍha, had reigned in North Pañchāla previous to the time when the kingdom acquired the name of Pañchāla. In this connection he seeks to establish a correspondence between the Paurānic genealogy and the Vedic tradition of the kings of North Pañchāla.

[3] *Cf.* Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Ch. III, p. 8.

Pañchālas had five able sons to govern five provinces, we cannot but think that the kingdom of Pañchāla was once known to have been divided into five portions. How the five divisions were designated and discriminated we cannot exactly say. The *Saṁhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa*, however, speaks of the Prāchyas or Eastern Pañchālas,[1] a fact which may warrant us to infer the existence of the Pañchālas who were distinguished as Pratīchya or Western. The Jātaka and the *Mahābhārata*, as we shall see anon, narrate different stories of the rise of two political divisions of the Pañchāla country, distinguished as Pāñchāla Proper or Dakshiṇa Pañchāla and Uttara or Northern Pañchāla. If so, the supposed five divisions may be taken to have been distinguished as Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern, and Central.

The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (XXX, 2) alludes to a time when the Pañchālas became divided into three sections, and that as a result of certain rites performed by Keśin Dālbhya. It is certain that from the age of the Jātaka and the *Mahābhārata*, Pañchāla became permanently divided into two well-defined kingdoms, *viz.* Dakshiṇa Pañchāla with Kāmpīlya as its capital, and Uttara Pañchāla with Ahichchhatra as its principal town. According to the Chetiya Jātaka, the city (*i.e.*, the kingdom) of Uttara Pañchāla was founded by a Chedi prince who was advised by the family priest, Kapila, to leave by the north gate (*uttaradvāreṇa*) of the capital of his father.[2] The *Mahābhārata* relates altogether a different story, according to which the division of the kingdom of Pañchāla into two was effected by a treaty entered into by the Brahmin teacher, Droṇa, with Drupada, the then king of Pañchāla, after the latter had been defeated by the young Kuru pupils of the former, and seized and carried as a captive. Droṇa agreed to take the northern half of the kingdom which became known by the name of Ahichchhatra or Uttara Pañchāla, while Drupada continued to rule over the remaining half of his kingdom distinguished as Southern Pañchāla.[3]

2 Antiquity and origin of the name of the Pañchāla capital Ahichchhatrā

The name of *Ahichchhatrā* is not as old as that of Kāmpīlya (Pāli Kāmpilla, Vedic Kāmpīla),[4] although both figure in Indian literature as capitals of Pañchāla, the former of Uttara-Pañchāla and the latter of Dakshiṇa-Pañchāla. Adhichchhatrā (Skt. Ahichchhatrā) certainly finds mention in the Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasena[5] which may be dated about the beginning of the Christian era. This is indeed the oldest epigraphic record mentioning the name of Ahichchhatrā. The Vedic name of Ahichchhatrā seems to have been Parichakrā (not Parivakrā which occurs as a variant),[6] the name suggesting either that the city was founded on a circular site or that it had derived its name from a circular object. *Parichakra* as a sculptural term denotes a medallion or

[1] *Vedic Index*, I, p. 469.

[2] Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. III, pp. 460-1.

[3] *Mbh.*, *Ādi Parvan*, Ch. 140.

[4] The *Yajur-Veda-Saṁhitā* (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 149), applies the local epithet *Kāmpīla-vāsinī* to a woman, the Kāmpīla of the epithet standing obviously for the town of that name, the Kāmpīlya of later literature.

[5] Lüders, *List* (E. I., X, Appendix) No. 905. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya (Sanskrit Text, p. 77) mentions Ahichchhatraka as "a kind of pearl found at Ahichchhatra".

[6] *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 5, 4, 7. [The walled city of Ahichchhatra is roughly a right-angled triangle in shape.—Ed.]

circular panel.[1] The Pāli Chetiya Jātaka while giving an account of the foundation of the city of Uttara-Pañchāla (wrongly taken to be the name of the city itself), distinctly refers to *Chakra-pañjara* (Pāli *Chakka-Pañjara*, a wheel frame), which was to be taken as the cognizance of the site where the city was to be built.[2] The identity of Ahichchhatrā with Parichakrā may be further surmised from the fact that of the two cities of Pañchāla mentioned in the later Vedic texts, the name of one (*i.e.*, Kāmpīla) was retained throughout, while that of the other (*i.e.*, Parichakrā) fell into disuse, and in its place a new name, Ahichchhatrā came into use and remained current up till the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, if not still later.

According to the Jaina Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, Saṁkhyāvatī was the earlier name of Ahichchhatrā, described as the capital of Kuru-jāṅgala.[3]

As for the origin of the name of Ahichchhatrā, Cunningham observes : "The name is written *Ahikshetra*[4] as well as *Ahichchhatra*, but the local legend of the Ādi-rājā and the Nāga, who formed a canopy over his head, when asleep, shows that the latter is the correct form. The meaning of the name is 'Serpent Umbrella'. This grand old fort is said to have been built by Rājā Ādi, an Ahir, whose future elevation to sovereignty was foretold by Droṇa, when he found him sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent with expanded hood. The fort is also called Ādikoṭ, but the more common name is Ahichchhatra."[5]

But Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, seeks to account for the origin of the name of Ahichchhatrā by a legend of Pārśvanātha, according to which when the demon Kamaṭha caused out of his previous spite an incessant rain flooding the city of Saṁkhyāvatī, where Pārśvasvāmin was then staying, the serpent-king Dharaṇīndra hurried to the spot with his chief queen and protected the Lord by coiling himself round his body and spreading a canopy of one thousand hoods over his head. Thereafter the city of Saṁkhyāvatī came to be known by the name of Ahichchhatrā.[6]

A similar legend seems to have been invented by the Buddhists to account for the origin of the name of Ahichchhatrā or "Serpent canopy".[7]

It should be noted that Ptolemy's spelling of the name as *Adisadra*[8] corresponds with Adhichchhatrā, met with in the Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasena.

3 Identifications of Pañchāla and Ahichchhatrā

It is generally admitted that Ahichchhatrā was the capital of Uttara Pañchāla (Northern Pañchāla) and Kāmpīlya that of Dakshiṇa Pañchāla (Southern Pañ-

[1] Barua, *Barhut*, I.

[2] Fausboll, *Jātaka*, III, pp. 460-61.

[3] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, edited by Jina Vijaya (Singhī Jaina Granthamālā series), p. 14.

[4] *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, Ch. 252.

[5] *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 412-13.

[6] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 14, *Pabbai-uvaḍḍha-veeṇa, Kamaṭhāsuraṇa aṇa ahichchhaṇaṇāhāṇā-paṛāhaṁ vāsaṇto aṇu-hare gaeeṇa. Tiṇa saṇjha meheṇaṇḍala vāvaṇṇa-sīhēṇa, Dharaṇaṇḍeṇa Nāgarāṇa aggamahisīhiṁ saha āgaṇtūṇa māṇa-sayaṇa chameheṇaṁ saha-ssa-saṁkhaphaṇā-maṇḍala-chhattaṁ sāmiṇo uvariṁ kaṛāṇ aṇ hatthe kaṇḍakaṇa-bhoṛeṇa saṇaṇchia ya aṇaṇaṇa veeṇa. Tae paṇaṭṭīsa naṇaṛī Ahichchhatta tti nāmaṁ saṁjāyaṁ.*

[7] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I., p. 332 ; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 413-14.

[8] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 133.

chāla). In the *Mahābhārata*, however, the kingdom of which Ahichchhatrā was the capital is expressly called Ahichchhatra (*Ahichchatraḥ vishayaḥ*) instead of Uttara Pañchāla.[1] But it is clearly hinted at in the same chapter of the Great Epic that by the kingdom of Ahichchhatra was meant nothing but Uttara Pañchāla. We are indeed told that the significance of the two adjectives *Uttara* (Northern) and *Dakshiṇa* (Southern) lay in the fact that the northern half of Pañchāla forming a separate kingdom was situated to the north of or extended along the northern bank of the Ganges and the southern half was situated to the south of or extended along the southern bank of the Ganges. Thus the Ganges served as the dividing line or natural boundary between the two kingdoms, northern and southern.[2]

According to the *Mahābhārata*, the kingdom of southern Pañchāla extended as far north as the Bhāgirathī and as far south as the Charmaṇvatī (modern Chambal river). As for the extension of Northern Pañchāla towards the north, the Great Epic tells us nothing definitely.[3]

According to the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Kāmpilya, the capital of Pañchāla (*i.e.*, Southern Pañchāla), was situated on the bank of the Ganges.[4] The country of Pañchāla (*i.e.*, Southern Pañchāla), is placed, however, in an eastern quarter of the southern portion of Central India (*Dakshiṇa-Bhāraha-khaṇḍe puvvedisāe*). As for Ahichchhatrā, the Jaina account wrongly represents it as the capital of Kuru-jāṅgala,[5] which is clearly distinguished in the *Mahābhārata* from the province of Ahichchhatra.[6]

Cunningham may be right in suggesting that the great kingdom of Pañchāla as a whole extended from the Himalayas to the Chambal river.[7] The North Pañchāla embraced the whole of Rohilkhand to the north of the Ganges, while the South Pañchāla included the upper half of the Doab between the Ganges

[1] *Mahābhārata*, Bengal Ed., I, 138. 76-7:
Ahichchhatrañ-cha vishayam Dronaḥ samabhipadyata ||
Ecaṁ rājan-nahichchhatrā-purī janapadāyutā ||

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 138. 70:
Rājāsī dakshiṇe kule Bhāgirathyāhaṁ-uttare ||
Sakhāyam mām vijānīhi Pañchāla yadi manyase ||

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 138. 74:
Dakshiṇaś-ch-api Pañchālān yāvach-Charmaṇvatī nadī.
According to a Sanskrit verse cited in the *Śabda-Kalpa-druma*, the country of Pañchāla lay to the west as well as the north of Kurukshetra, a paragon of beauty:
Kurukshetrāt-paschime tu tathā ch-ōttaram-āgath ||
Indraprasthan Maheśāni daśayojanakadraye ||
Pāñchāladeśo devīśi saundarya-garva-bhūshitah ||

[4] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 50: Tattha Gaṁgā-nāma-mahanal-taraṁga-pakkhalijjamāṇa-pāyāra-bhittiam Kampillapuraṁ nāma nayaram. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 138: 73: Mākandim-atha Gaṅgāyās-tīre janapadayutam ||
So 'dhyāvasad dīnamanāh Kāmpilyañ-cha purottamam ||

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[6] *Mahābhārata*, V, 19, 29-30:
Tatah Pañchanadañ-ch-aiva kritsnañ-cha Kurujāṅgalam ||
Tathā Rohitakāraṇyam marubhumiś-cha kevalā ||
Ahichchhatram Kālakūtam Gangākulañ-cha Bharata ||
Vāraṇam Vātadhānañ-cha Yāmunaś-ch-aiva parvatah ||

[7] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 413.

and Jumna.[1] Rapson, however, identifies North Pañchāla with the districts of the United Provinces to the east of the Ganges and north-east of Oudh, and South Pañchāla with the country between the Jumna and the Ganges to the east and south-east of the Kurus and Śūrasenas.[2]

Cunningham identifies the city of Kāmpilya with modern Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farokhabad,[3] while in N. L. Dey's opinion it was situated at a distance of 28 miles north-east of Fathgad in the district of Farokhabad.[4] The point which is in favour of Cunningham's identification is that the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa* definitely locates it on the Ganges.

The *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, as already noticed, locates the city of Ahichchhatra in Kurujāngala, while Vincent A. Smith identifies it with modern Ramnagar in the district of Bareilly.[5] The location of Ahichchhatra is not at all clear from Hwen Tsang's itinerary. He reached the country of Ahichchhatra by travelling 400 li or over 66 miles south-east from Govishāṇa. The capital, Ahichchhatra was "17 or 18 li or just three miles in circuit, and was defended by natural obstacles."[6] This has led Cunningham to identify Ahichchhatra with a place that still preserves its ancient name as *Ahichchhatr*, seven miles to the north of Aonla.[7] The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* may be taken to suggest the presence of jaṅgals (apparently miscalled Kuru-jaṅgala) in the neighbourhood of Ahichchhatra. There were jaṅgals to the north of Aonla, no doubt, between Aonla and Ahichchhatra, from which position the Katehria Rajputs withstood the Muslim forces under Firuz-shah Tughlak.[8]

Mr. Jwala Sahay Mishra inclines to identify Ahichchhatra with the modern village, Arura, which lies a little north of the village of Bhadaun in Patiala State,[9] the accuracy of which is highly problematical.[10]

4 Pañchāla: its rulers and political vicissitudes

Some of the older Brāhmaṇas bear a clear testimony to the considerable military strength and political supremacy of the Pañchālas and their rulers. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 4. 7), for instance, mentions Kraivya, the king of Pañchāla, among the ancient monarchs of India, who had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The *Brāhmaṇa* cites two *gāthās* or adulatory verses, one of which brings out the fact that at Parivakrā or Parichakrā, the Pañchāla overlord of the Krivis seized the horse which was meet for sacrifice with gifts of a hundred thousand heads of cattle.[11] The second verse hints at the magnificence of the horse-sacrifice performed by Kraivya when it states that the Brahmins of the Pañchālas from every quarter assembled there and divided between them a

[1] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79.
[2] *Ancient India*, p. 167.
[3] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 413.
[4] *Geographical Dict.* (2nd ed.), p. 88.
[5] *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., pp. 391-2.
[6] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 412.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 412 f.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 415; Briggs, *Ferishta*, i, 457.
[9] *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 598 ff.
[10] Haribar V. Trivedi, In *I. C.*, Vol. I, pp. 253-4.
[11] *Kraivaṃ ha Pañchālaṃ rājā Kavaṣeyaputro bṛhaccakre purā Pañchālānāṃ lakshaṇe tadetadgāthāṃ gāyati kṛtsnaṃ medhyamaśvaṃ labhatā kṛtsnāṃ satpariṣhadaṃ Pāñchālaḥ Parivakrāyāṃ sahasraśata dakshiṇamiti* (XIII. 5. 4. 7.)

thousand myriads, and five and twenty hundred of gifts.[1] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* says in connection with the *Mahābhisheka* of Indra, that the Pañchālas were one of the ruling peoples in the firmly established *Madhyamā-dik* or Midland,[2] who were anointed for kingship. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also informs us that the kings of the Kuru-Pañchālas performed also the Rājasūya sacrifice, as a proof, no doubt, of their political greatness. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 8. 4. 1-2) tells us in the same strain how the kings of the Kuru-Pañchālas marched forth on raids in the winter season and returned in the summer.[3] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (IX. 39. 23) introduces us to another ancient and most powerful king of the Pañchālas by the name of Durmukha.[4] He is said to have made extensive conquests in every direction. The Pāli Kumbhakāra Jātaka[5] speaks probably of the same king, Durmukha, of Pañchāla (Uttara-Pañchāla, according to the Jātaka). The Buddhist Birth-story, however, relates an anecdote according to which King Durmukha abandoned his kingdom to attain the spiritual insight of a great saint (Pratyeka-Buddha) on the realisation of the dreadful effects of lust. The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* spells the name of this ancient king of Pañchāla as Dvimukha.[6]

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 4) cites several *gāthās* in praise of a third most powerful king of Pañchāla by the name of Soṇa Sātrāsāha who had perform-formed a horse-sacrifice on a very grand scale. When the King was performing the sacrifice, wearing beautiful garments, Indra revelled in the Soma drink and the Brāhmaṇas were satiated with wealth (S. B. E., XLIV, p. 400). Two of the *gāthās* quoted in a Brāhmaṇa hint at the king having an army of 33,000 horses and 6,000 mail-clad men.

According to the *Mahābhārata*,[7] the powerful king of Pañchāla at the time of the Kurukshetra battle was Drupada, from whose hands the northern portion of his kingdom was wrested by the Kurus who had established their Brahmin Guru, Droṇa, as king. King Drupada entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Kurus by marrying his daughter, Draupadī, *alias* Pāñchālī, to the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Pañchāla was at that time once attacked by Karṇa, king of Aṅga. The mighty Karṇa with a large army beseiged the Pañchāla country, defeated Drupada in a battle, and exacted tribute from him and his sāmanta. Subsequently Bhīmasena, in course of his eastern expedition, invaded the Pañchāla country and by various stratagems brought it under his sway. During the Kurukshetra war, King Drupada of Pañchāla, then an ally of the Pāṇḍavas, helped the Pāṇḍavas with his son, Dhṛishṭadyumna and his *akshauhiṇī* army. Dhṛishṭadyumna was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the entire Pāṇḍava force. The battle proved, however, to be a disaster for the royal family of

[1] *Sahasram-āsan-n-ayutā śatā cha pañchavimśatih dakṣhiṇā-dakṣhiṇāh Pañchālānām brāhmaṇā yā vibhajya iti.* (XIII. 5. 4. 8).

[2] *Ait. Br., III. 38. 14. madhyamāyām pratishṭhāyām dṛiśye ke cha kuru-Pañchālānām rājānah. Cf. Pañchālādi janapade Pañchālāmadhyamāpravṛitti* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata).

[3] *Śiśire kuru-Pañchālāh prāñcho yānti vasantam eyacasāyād-ayanti, etc.*

[4] *Durmukhah Pañchālo rājā saṃvidyayā samantam sarvatah pṛithivīm jayan parīyāya iti.*

[5] Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 379; Cowell, English translation of the Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 230. *Uttara pañchālaraṭṭhe Kampillanagare Durmukho nāma rājā.*

[6] *Jaina Sūtras*, (SBE), Part. II, p. 87.

[7] *MBH., Ādiparvan*, Ch. 94; *Sabhāparvan*, Ch. 29; *Vanaparvan*, Ch. 253, *Bhīshma-parvan*, Ch. 19, *Udyoga-parvan*, Chaps. 156-157 and 172-194, 198, *Karṇaparvan*, Ch. 6, *Virāṭaparvan*, Ch. 4, *Droṇaparvan*, Ch. 22.

Drupada and his military power. It goes without saying that the neighbourly rivalry between the ruling clans of Kuru and Pañchāla developed into a war from time to time, sometimes the Kurus gaining supremacy over the Pañchālas and sometimes the Pañchālas over the Kurus, without however, having effected a permanent conquest.[1]

The kingdom of Pañchāla continued to exist even after the Kurukshetra war. The Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa* mentions Harisheṇa as the tenth *chakravartin* (king overlord) of Pañchāla. According to the same authority there arose another most powerful *sārvabhauma* king by the name of Brahmadatta.[2] The Mahāummagga Jātaka introduces us to Chūḷani Brahmadatta, the all-powerful king of Uttara Pañchāla, who had established his supremacy almost all over Jambudvīpa.[3] One king Brahmadatta of Pañchāla is mentioned also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[4] the Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka.[5] and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*.[6] The last-mentioned work describes him as a fortunate but wicked king who having failed to act upon the wise counsel of his best advisers, was punished in hell. The Pāli Jātaka vividly narrates the ways in which he oppressed his subjects by taxation and made them suffer terribly his general misrule.

With the notoriety of Brahmadatta may be contrasted the noble tradition of Pravāhaṇa Jaivalī, the philosopher king of Pañchāla, to whom we are introduced in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*[7] and *Chāndogya*[8] Upanishads.

It is certain that by the time of the rise of Buddhism, Pañchāla, like Kuru, Matsya, and the rest, attained the position of a self-governing oligarchical republic. The name of Pañchāla is allowed to figure prominently in the list of sixteen mahājanapadas, or powerful countries.[9] According to one of the Pāli Jātakas, Pañchāla had a formidable army 'consisting of foot-soldiers (*pattimati*), men skilful in fight (*sabbasamgāmakovidā*) and in the use of steel weapons' (*lohavijjāalamkārā*).[10]

The Pañchālas find mention in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya as a ruling clan who represented a Saṅgha or oligarchical form of government.[11] This fact goes to prove that Pañchāla remained an independent state at least for a century after the demise of the Buddha, *i.e.*, until it was conquered by Mahāpadma Nanda[12] and brought under the sway of the monarchs of Magadha. As evidenced by Aśoka's R. E. XIII, Pañchāla was not counted in the 3rd century B. C. among the territories that enjoyed semi-independence within the Maurya empire. The *Gārgī-saṁhitā*, composed in the 2nd or 3rd century A. D., alludes to a Greek (Yavana) invasion of Sāketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā, which must have taken

[1] Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.
[2] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 50.
[3] Fausboll, *Jātaka*, VI, p. 329 ff.
[4] *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, Canto 33.
[5] Fausboll, *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 98.
[6] *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. II, p. 61.
[7] *Bṛihad Ār. Up.*, VI, I, 1.
[8] *Chhāndogya Up.*, V, 3, 1.
[9] *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
[10] Cowell, *Jātaka*, VI, p. 202. Fausboll, Jātaka, VI, p. 396.
[11] *Arthaśāstra*, Shamaśāstrī's tr., p. 455. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165.
[12] Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 188.

place in post-Asokan times.[1] But in about the beginning of the Christian era, Northern Pañchāla rose into temporary importance under the rule of Āshāḍhasena "who belonged to the royal family of Adhichchhatrā (Ahichchhatrā)". In one of the two Pabhosā cave inscriptions of Āshāḍhasena, the king of Adhichchhatra is described as the maternal uncle of king Bṛihaspatimitra, who was undoubtedly then the paramount sovereign of Magadha belonging to the Mitra dynasty. Thus the inscription conclusively proves that the royal family of Northern Pañchāla tried to establish their position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Mitras of Magadha. It does not seem probable that the status of Āshāḍhasena, the then king of Ahichchhatra, was in any way higher than that of a "gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne." Several old copper coins of the so-called Pañchāla series, that "are found in Oudh, the Basti district, and even Pāṭaliputra, as well as in Pañchāla", and bear the names of some Mitra kings, cannot be cited as conclusive evidence to prove that those Mitras had then "formed a local dynasty of North Pañchāla."[2]

The kingdom of Pañchāla must have sunk into oblivion during the Kushāṇa and Gupta ages, and we hear no more of it until Hiuen Tsang came to leave behind an account of the country of Ahichchhatra in the 7th century A. D., without specifying its political position. Panchāla was destined, however, to become the principal kingdom in Northern India from about 840-910 A. D. under Bhoja and his son, and to come again into importance in the 12th century under the Gaharwar kings.[3]

5 Religion and Culture of Pañchāla

At the very dawn of its history, Pañchāla became a very important centre of Vedic religion and culture. The Brahmins who had settled in different parts of Pañchāla and were patronised by its kings were to be counted not by hundreds and thousands but by millions.[4] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* records: "Speech sounds higher here among the Kuru-Pañchālas",[5] the speech denoting the recitations of the Vedic texts. The capital of Pañchāla witnessed the performance of many Aśvamedha and Rājasūya sacrifices. The Gāthās were composed and current among the people regarding the meritorious acts and royal supremacy of some of its kings. The *Aitareya* and *Śāṁkhāyana Āraṇyakas* introduce us to a famous Vedic teacher by the name of Pañchālachaṇḍa.[6] The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Chhāndogya Upanishads* refer to Pravāhaṇa Jaivalī, the philosopher king of Pañchāla, to whose court flocked many seekers of truth including such great Brahmins as Uddālaka Āruṇi and his son Śvetaketu Āruṇeya.[7] Śilaka Śālāvatya,

[1] Max Muller, *India, What can it teach us?*, p. 298.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th Ed., p. 327. For the list of kings mentioned in the Pañchāla coins, see Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 81-84; R. D. Banerjee's *Prāchīna Mudrā*, p. 107; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 63-64; Allen, Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India, pp. cxvii ff.

[3] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 27. [The recent excavations have proved that the most prosperous period of Ahichchhatra must have been the period of its independence under the so-called Mitra kings and the last period of the Gurjara Pratihāra kings of Northern India (8th–9th century A.D.). Stray coins of the early Pathan rulers are also found at the site– Ed.]

[4] *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 5, 4, 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, (S. B. E., Vol. XXVI), p. 50.

[6] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 469.

[7] *Bṛihad. Ār. Up.* VI, 1, 1; *Chhāndogya Up.*, V, 3, 1.

Chaikitāyana Dālbhya and Pravāhaṇa Jaivalī were three men of India of their age, who were well-versed in Udgītha or the significance of the mystic syllable. Droṇa, the great Brahmin teacher of archery of the Epic fame, became, according to the *Mahābhārata*, the king of Uttara-Pañchāla. Bābhravya who finds mention in the Rik-Prātiśākhya as the author of the Kramapāṭha of the Rig-Veda is connected by the scholiast Uvaṭa with Pañchāla. Weber opines that Bābhravya Pañchāla, and the Pañchāla people through him, took a leading part in fixing and arranging the text of the *Ṛig-Veda*.[1] The *Mahābhārata*, too, credits Gālava, a Pañchāla of the Bābhravya gotra with the authorship of the Kramapāṭha.[2]

Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* seems to suggest that the *Ṛig-Veda* came to be aptly called *Chatuḥshashṭi* ('The Sixty-four') from the arrangement of its hymns in eight Ashṭakas of eight chapters each, which it had received at the hands of Gālava-Bābhravya.[3] He frankly admits that his own treatise, *Kāmasūtra*, was only a later digest of an earlier elaborate treatise on the same subject composed by one Bābhravya of Pañchāla, the treatise which comprised 150 chapters and was divided into seven sections. "He thus admits that the great work of Bābhravya formed the ground-work of his own book". One out of the seventy sections of the *Kāmasūtra*, *viz.*, the Sāṁprayogika, covering about a fourth part of the whole work, is entirely taken from Bābhravya.

It is well observed: "The Pañchāla people were evidently credited in ancient times with extraordinary powers in connection with matters relating to the sexes, extending even to a change of the natural sex, as we see in the case of Śikhaṇḍin, the son of the Pañchāla king, Drupada. Polyandry, as we see in the case of Draupadī Pāñchālī, may be regarded as an ancient custom of the Pañchāla country."[4]

When Hiuen Tsang had visited Ahichchhatra (*i.e.*, North Pañchāla) in the 7th century A.D., its inhabitants were a people who loved religion, and were sincere and truthful.[5] Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side. He saw there about ten Saṁghārāmas, containing 1,000 monks, belonging to the Inferior Vehicle, and nine Deva temples with 300 sectaries, who were of the Śaiva faith. The pilgrim definitely says that those sectaries worshipped Īśvara *i.e.*, Mahādeva, and belonged to the order of 'ashes-sprinklers' (Pāśupata Śaivas). The place was known as a locality where Tathāgata had preached the Law for the sake of a Nāga-rāja for seven days. Beside this spot were to be seen four small stūpas.[6]

In the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, we have an interesting account of both Kāmpilya and Ahichchhatra as two among the well-known Jaina tīrthas. According to the Jaina authority, Ahichchhatra was the prosperous town in Kurujāṅgala where Lord Pārśvanātha was protected during rain and storm caused by

[1] Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. Tr. pp. 10, 34.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, Cal. Ed., *Śāntiparvan*, Ch. 342, verses 102-104; H. C. Chakladar, *Journal of the Department of Letters* (C. U.), Vol. IV, p. 88.

[3] *Kāmasūtra*, (Bengal Ed.), pp. 93-94.

[4] H. C. Chakladar, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. IV, p. 90.

[5] According to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the people of Pañchāla were of dark blue complexion.

[6] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 200-201; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 331.

the demon. Kamaṭha. by the Nāga-king Dharaṇīndra. who coiled himself round the body of Pārśva and spread his thousand-hooded hood like a canopy over the head of the great Tīrthaṁkara. A brick wall of zig-zag shape is said to have been erected over the ground traversed by the Nāga king. The Jaina Saṁgha caused a shrine to be made in honour of Pārśva. To the east of this temple were seven Kuṇḍas full of pleasantly cool and clear water. where used to dwell sportful tortoises. And within and without were many wells and large tanks. Not far from this main shrine was another temple in the Siddha-kshetra of Pārśva where he was attended by Dharaṇīndra and his wife Padmāvatī. Near the brick-wall was to be seen an image of Ambā-devī with a lion as her vehicle along with an image of Neminātha. To the north of this shrine was a sacred tank, the waters and soil of which could cure leprosy. The Dhanvantarikūpa and Brahma-kuṇḍa in the neighbourhood possessed similar healing properties. The city contained many Hindu temples of Hari. Hara. Hiraṇyagarbha and Chaṇḍikā and Brahma-kuṇḍa and similar tīrthas. This very city was known to be the birthplace of the great Ṛishi Kṛishṇa.[1]

As for the city of Kāmpilya we read that it was the place which was hallowed by these five auspicious incidents in the life of Vimalaṅātha. the 13th Tīrthaṁkara, who was a son of king Kṛitavarman by his queen Somādevī: The descent. the nativity. the coronation. the initiation. and the Jinahood. from which circumstance the city came also to be known by the name of Pañcha-kalyāṇaka.

Kāmpilya is claimed as a city where Ārshamitra. the disciple of Kauṇḍinya. who in his turn was the disciple of the Mahāgiri teachers of the Lakshmīhara Chaitya of Mithilā. came to reside two hundred and twenty years after the demise of Mahāvīra. The same city is claimed as the place where the Jaina saint Gardabhāli renounced the world and attained liberation. It is also claimed as a place where prince Gāgalī who afterwards became the king of Pṛishṭi-champā, was converted to Jainism by Gautama. The *Tīrthakalpa* also claims it as the place of which the powerful king. Durmukha. became a Pratyeka-Buddha. It was in this very city that the Mahāsatī Draupadī. daughter of king Drupada, had chosen of her own accord five Pāṇḍavas as her husbands. Kāmpilya was known as the city of which the king Dharmaruchi was able to carry his whole army to Kāśī through the air by virtue of his piety. when the Lord of Kāśī picked up a quarrel with him for the alleged fault of having honoured an image of the Jinendra.[2]

The fame of Pañchāla rested not only on its having been an early centre of Vedic learning and the science of erotics and eugenics but also on its having become an important home of poetry in later times. say. during the reign of Bhoja. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. Ch. III. has paid a glowing tribute to the poets of Pañchāla.[3]

[1] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. p. 14 *Tattha pāyārakāra-ehim jahā puvvo thio nayarāī Dharaṇimdo kuḍilagaī sappai tahā tahā itthaireso kao. Ajja vi tahera pāyāra-rayaṇā dīsai. Siri-Pāsasāmino Chaiam saṁghena kāriam*, etc., etc.

[2] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. p. 50.

[3] *Pañchāla-mandala-bhuvaṁ subhagaḥ kavīnāṁ*
Sandarbha-madhu-kharatā kiṁchana kāvyapathaḥ

As the Mahā-ummagga Jātaka goes to prove, Northern (Southern ?) Pañchāla with the city of Kampilliya (Kāmpilya) as its capital was a very ancient home of Indian poetry. Many great poets and playwrights flourished there under royal patronage: King Cūḷanī Brahmadatta of Uttara Pañchāla is said to have employed all the local poets of ability to compose a melodious love-song praising the exquisite beauty of the princess Pañchāla-chaṇḍī, which, as the story goes, gained much popularity in Northern India.[1] This Jātaka gives also a vivid description of a highly artistic tunnel (*ummagga, i.e., suḍaṅga*) dug out from the Ganges to the royal palace in Kāmpilya.

6 Ahichchhatra and the so-called *MITRA* coins

The two Pabhosā caves in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī preserve two inscriptions of Āshāḍhasena, king of Adhichchhatrā, in mixed dialect. The inscriptions record the fact of dedication of the caves concerned to the Kāśyapīya Arhats by king Āshāḍhasena. In one of them the donor, king Āshāḍhasena, is introduced as the maternal uncle of king Bṛihaspatimitra,[2] and in the other we have mention of four generations of kings beginning with Śaunakāyana: Āshāḍhasena, the son of king Bhāgavata and Vaihidarī: Bhāgavata, the son of Vaṅgapāla and Traivarṇī: Vaṅgapāla, the son of Śaunakāyana.[3] Allowing each king an average of twenty years as the period of reign, it may be suggested that Āshāḍhasena and his three predecessors had reigned in Ahichchhatrā for about a century. King Bṛihaspatimitra was undoubtedly a contemporary of Āshāḍhasena, and must have been a king of a country other than Ahichchhatrā or North Pañchāla. From the manner of description it is clear that the caves were excavated by Āshāḍhasena not in his own kingdom but in that of his nephew Bṛihaspatimitra. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela refers to one Bṛihaspatimitra as a contemporary king of Magadha (*Māgadhañ-cha rājānaṁ Bahasatimitaṁ*). It is not astonishing at all that two of the ancient Indian coins found at Kauśāmbī bear the legend of king Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra).[4] Similar coins bearing the legend of other Mitra kings have been found at Kauśāmbī, at Ayodhyā, at Audumbara, at Mathurā, in Rohilkhand, and chiefly at Ahichchhatra or Rāmnagar. The so-called Pañchāla or Ahichchhatra coins alone bear the legend of Dhruvamitra, Sūryamitra, Phālgunīmitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Agnimitra, Jayamitra, Indramitra and Vishṇumitra, besides those of Rudragupta, Bhadraghosha and Viśvapāla. A coin of Sūryamitra has been found at Ayodhyā along with those of Satyamitra, Saṅghamitra and Vijayamitra. Kauśāmbī can boast of two coins of Jyeshṭhamitra. One coin of Bhānu-

[1] Fausboll, *Jātaka*, VI, p. 410: *Rājā nipunē kabba-kārē pakkosāpetvā bahuṁ dhanaṁ datvā dhītaraṁ tesaṁ dassetvā, "imāya etissā rūpasampattiṁ nissāya kathaṁ karothā" ti āha. Te attamanoharāni gītāni bandhitvā rājānaṁ sādayiṁsu. Rājā tesaṁ bahuṁ dhanaṁ adāsi. Kathinaṁ santikā natā sukhitvā samajjamaṇḍale gāyiṁsu, ye tāni ṭhānāni ahesuṁ.* Reading slightly modified in the light of the Siamese edition.

[2] Lüders' *List* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, app.), No. 904.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 905. [Recently a coin of Vaṅgapāla, misread in the first instance as Tagapāla, was secured from Ramnagar, the ancient Ahichchhatra, by Mr. M. B. L. Dar (*vide Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, p. 116). The coin of [Viśva]-pāla published by Allen (Cat. of Ancient India, Pl. XXVII 4) may also belong to the same ruler. This clearly proves the historicity of the line of Āshāḍhasena and their connection with Ahichchhatra—Ed.]

[4] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 73-4.

[Allen, *op. cit.* § 107-9, discusses the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra and distinguishes two rulers of that name. It is with the second ruler, who is assigned to circa 100 B. C., that the Ahichchhatra ruler Āshāḍhasena was connected—Ed.]

mitra falls to the share of Audumbara. To Mathurā's share are to be allotted two coins, one bearing the legend of Gomitra, and the other that of Brahmamitra.[1]

Who were those Mitra kings, and can they be identified with the Śuṅga and Śuṅgabhṛitya Kāṇva kings mentioned in the Purāṇas? Were they the rulers of Ahichchhatra or North Pañchāla, or were they rulers of some other country? On these questions Cunningham's findings are as follows :

"As the coins which I am now about to describe are found in Rohilkhand, and chiefly at Ahichchhatra, Aonla, and Budaon, it is quite certain that they belong to North Pañchāla. It has been suggested that they belong to the Śuṅga kings, who ruled over North India after the Mauryas for 112 years, or from B. C. 178 to 66. But the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin names, Agnimitra, is found in the Purānic lists of the Śuṅgas. The dates, however, agree as all the coins have inscriptions in Aśoka characters. I incline rather to assign the coins to a local dynasty of Princes, as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla, which would not be the case did they belong to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas."[2]

The relegation of the Mitras of the coins to Ahichchhatra or North Pañchāla is now out of the question in the face of the clear evidence of the Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasena and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela cited above. If Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra) of the coins be the same person as Bahasatimita of these two inscriptions, we cannot but take him to be a paramount king of Magadhā. The connection of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra with Magadha may be easily inferred from the Bodh Gayā railing inscriptions of Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī.[3]

As for the supposed connection of these kings with the Śuṅgas, Cunningham's finding is still the best and most sound in the field. The assignment is uncertain. The correspondence between the names of some of the Mitra kings of the coins and those of some of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings mentioned in the Purāṇas was sought to be established thus by Jayaswal :

Coin-name	Purāṇa-name
Agnimitra	Agnimitra
Bhānumitra	Vasumitra
Jethamitra	Vasujyeshṭha / Sujyeshṭha
Ghosha	Ghosha
Bhadraghosha	Ghoshavasu
Indramitra	Vajramitra
Devamitra	Devabhūti
Bhūmimitra	Bhūmimitra.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 70 ff.
[2] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79.
[3] Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, II. p. 75.
[4] *JBORS*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 479.

The proposed correspondence rests on an assumption the validity of which is highly questionable. Jayaswal has not succeeded in bringing forward any reliable evidence either from inscriptions or from literature to establish the identity of Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, and Bṛihaspatimitra of the coins and inscriptions. Both Indramitra and Agnimitra of the coins may be the same person as Indrāgnimitra whose wife Āryā Kuraṅgī donated the Bodh Gayā railing. Brahmamitra, the successor of Indrāgnimitra, whose wife Nāgadevī, too, donated a pillar of the Bodh Gayā railing, is apparently the same king as Brahmamitra of the coins. Chronologically the Bodh Gayā railing is later than that of the Stūpa of Bharhut which was an erection of the Śuṅga period. Similarly Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra mentioned in the inscription of Gautamīmitra may be identified with their namesakes in the coins. Thus the problem of the Mitra kings of the coins must be left where it stood in the days of Cunningham. The Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasena, the inscription of Gautamīmitra,[1] and the Mora brick-tablet of Yaśamitra,[2] leave no room for doubt that these Mitra kings entered into matrimonial alliances with the rulers of North Pañchāla and other neighbouring kingdoms. And Professor Ray Chaudhuri rightly observes : "It is not known in what relationship most of these Mitra kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas."[3]

The Copper-coins discovered at Ahichchhatra bear the legend of king Achyuta.[4] Vincent A. Smith[5] is inclined to think that this Achyuta is no other than Achyuta, a king of Northern India, who was uprooted by Samudragupta.[6]

[1] N. G. Majumdar in *IHQ*
[2] Vogel, in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 120.
[3] *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 335.
[4] *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 132-5.
[6] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7

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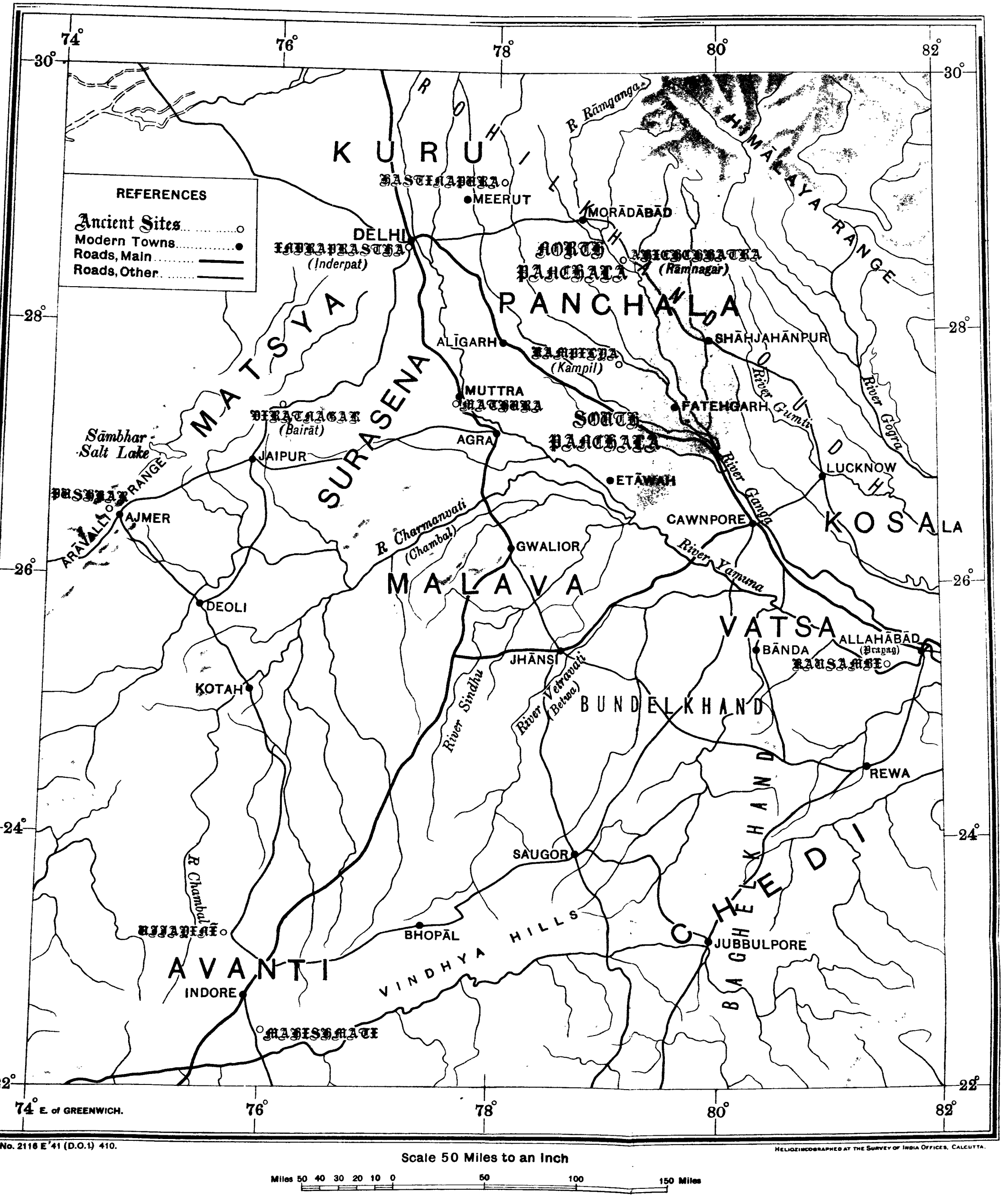
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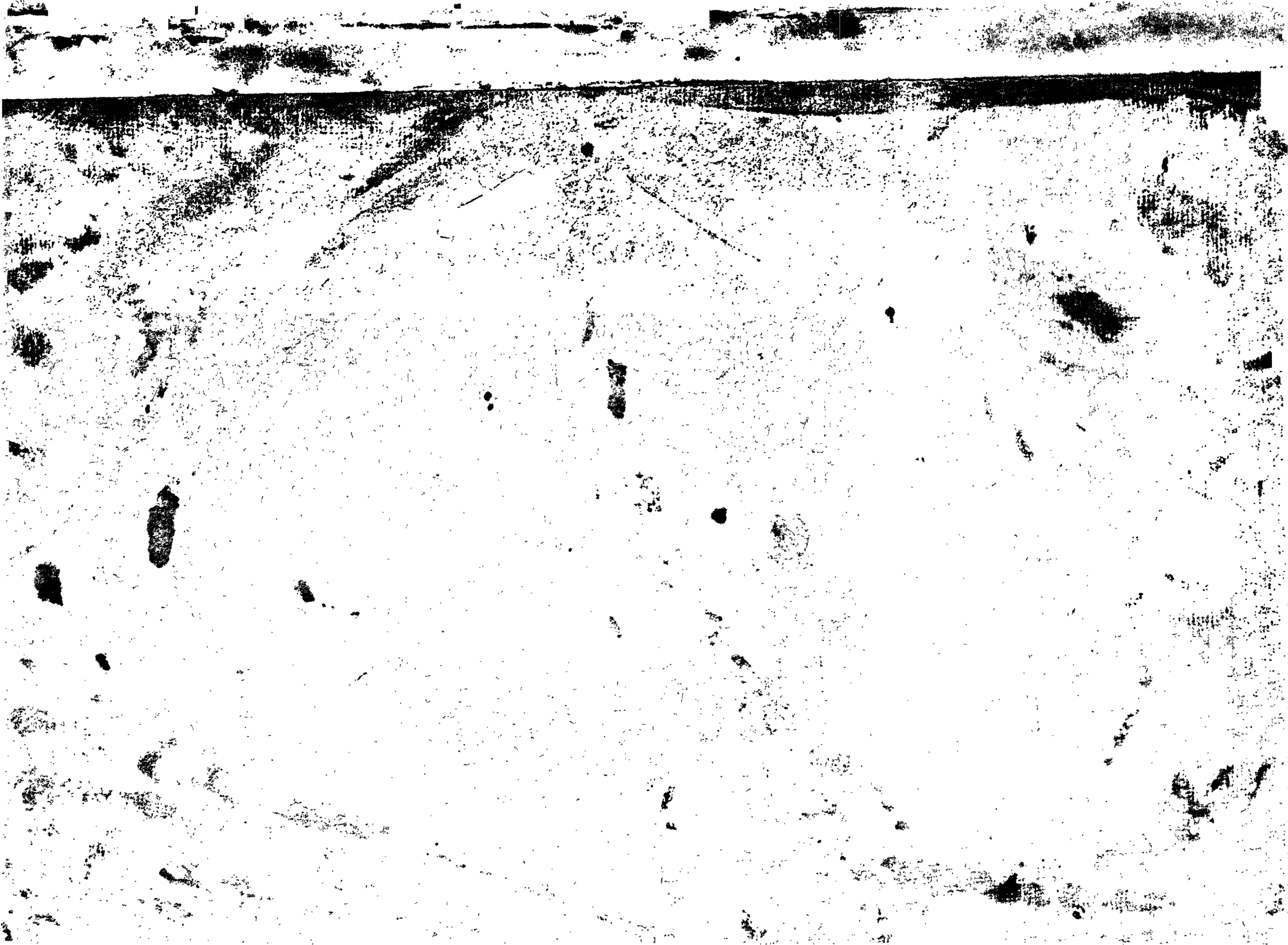


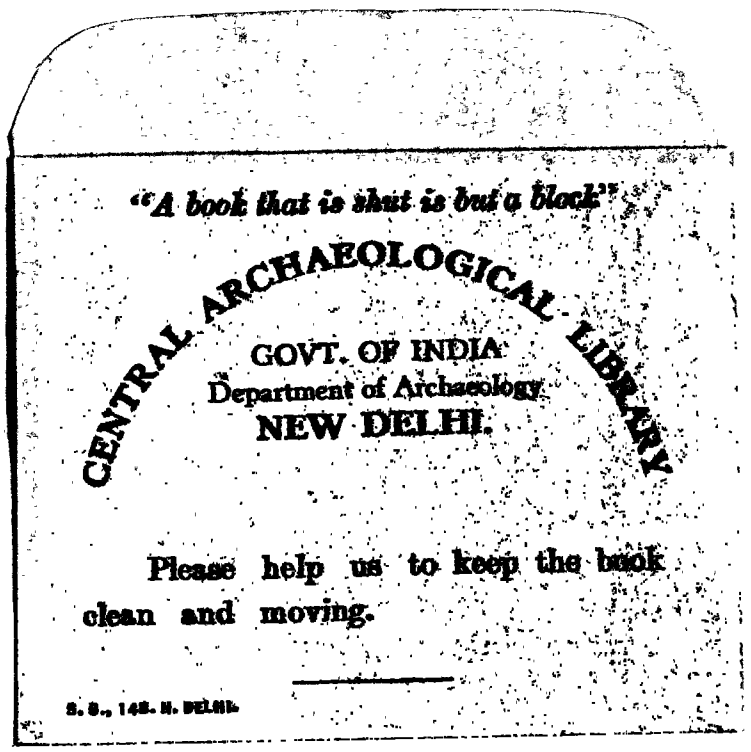
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